

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 CAPE T 00833 01 OF 02 261639Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00
ICAE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 ACDA-12 /091 W
-----059362 261703Z /47

O R 261540Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7177
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 833

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, WA, SF
SUBJ: NAMIBIA: ASSESSMENT OF SAG ACCEPTANCE OF WESTERN PROPOSAL

REF: CAPE TOWN 818

1. WHILE IN THE SAG STATEMENT ACCEPTING THE WESTERN PROPOSAL ON NAMIBIA THERE ARE OTHER PASSAGES WHICH ARE ONE-SIDED AND THEREFORE MIGHT REQUIRE CLARIFICATION, THE POTENTIALLY MOST TROUBLESOME ELEMENT IS THE "ASSURANCE" GIVEN THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA THAT THE SAG "WILL BE GUIDED BY THE WISHES OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY" ON TROOP WITHDRAWAL. ALTHOUGH AT THIS POINT WE DO NOT KNOW THE IMPORTANCE THEY MIGHT ATTACH TO IT, THE AFRICANS AND SWAPO COULD INTERPRET THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 CAPE T 00833 01 OF 02 261639Z

"ASSURANCE", AS PRESENTED IN THE SAG STATEMENT, AS A UNILATERAL ALTERATION OF THE PROPOSAL WITH THE CONNIVANCE OF THE FIVE.

2. BOTHA WOULD, WE BELIEVE, JUSTIFY THE "ASSURANCE" ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES: SINCE THE NEW YORK TALKS, THE SAG HAS MADE CLEAR THAT THE REQUIREMENT OF SADP

WITHDRAWAL PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE WAS THE MAIN OBSTACLE TO ITS ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL. THE SAG ADVISED THE FIVE THAT, IF THE PROPOSAL DID NOT PROVIDE FOR THE TROOPS TO REMAIN IN RESPONSE TO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY REQUEST, THE SAG ITSELF WOULD HANDLE THE PROBLEM BY AN UNDERTAKING TO COMPLY WITH ANY SUCH REQUEST. BRAND FOURIE RAISED THIS POSSIBILITY WITH US ON APRIL 14 (CAPE TOWN 749) AND PIK BOTHA FLOATED THE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE OF AN INTENDED SAG "ASSURANCE" WITH BRITISH AMB SIR DAVID SCOTT ON APRIL 17 (CAPE TOWN 778). ON BEHALF OF THE FIVE, SCOTT TOLD BOTHA ON APRIL 24 THAT "IT WOULD NOT BE TO ANYONE'S ADVANTAGE TO HAVE THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY CONCERN ITSELF WITH MATTERS OTHER THAN THE DRAFTING OF THE CONSTITUTION." AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THE FIVE "ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY MIGHT EXPRESS THEIR OPINION ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES" AND THAT "THE FIVE WOULD TAKE SUCH VIEWS CAREFULLY INTO ACCOUNT AND WOULD EXPECT OTHERS TO DO THE SAME" (SECTO 4150 AND CAPE TOWN 814). AT NO TIME DID THE FIVE REJECT OR WARN AGAINST THE "ASSURANCE" THE SAG HAS NOW GIVEN.

4. WE COULD RESPOND THAT SCOTT ALSO TOLD BOTHA THAT CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY VIEWS WOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT "ONLY ON THE STRICT UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS WOULD NOT RESULT IN ANY ACTION WHICH WOULD IMPERIL THE ATTAINMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 CAPE T 00833 01 OF 02 261639Z

OF INDEPENDENCE IN THE MANNER ENVISAGED IN THE PROPOSAL." BOTHA MIGHT WELL ARGUE THAT THE "ASSURANCE" DOES NOT IMPERIL THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE AND INDEED THE ABSENCE OF SUCH ASSURANCE WOULD PREVENT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL.

4. IT IS LIKELY THE SAG DEvised ITS "ASSURANCE" REALIZING IT WOULD BE TROUBLESOME BUT CALCULATING THAT IT COULD NOT SIMPLY BE REJECTED BECAUSE IT WOULD BE VIEWED BY MANY IN THE WEST AS NOT UNREASONABLE. IN ANY EVENT, IT SEEMS PROBABLE THAT THE "ASSURANCE" WAS THE BOTTOM LINE FOR THE DTA AND THE CABINET HARDLINERS (WITH SOME OF THE LATTER PERHAPS HOPING IT WOULD LEAD TO REJECTION BY THE FIVE AND SWAPO).

5. IN THE ABSENCE OF AN ALTERNATIVE EQUALLY ACCEPTABLE TO THOSE WHO REQUIRE THE "ASSURANCE", SAG RECATANTION IS OUT OF THE QUESTION. WE WILL WANT THEREFORE TO ADVIOD TAKING DIRECT PUBLIC ISSUE WITH SOUTH AFRICA ON THE ISSUE AND SEEK BY OUR OWN AND SOUTH AFRICAN STATEMENTS TO BLUNT THE INTERNATIONAL EFFECT OF THE ASSURANCE. THE IMMEDIATE APPROACH THE NEW YORK CG PLANS TO FOLLOW

(USUN 1667) SUITS THIS PURPOSE.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 CAPE T 00833 02 OF 02 261649Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00
ICAE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 ACDA-12 /091 W
-----059461 261703Z /47

O R 261540Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7178
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 833

6. AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE MATTER MAY BLOSSOM INTO A MAJOR ISSUE, PARTICULARLY IN THE CURRENT SPECIAL UNGA, AND IN ANY EVENT TO PROVIDE REASSURANCE TO SWAPO AND THE AFRICANS WHOSE HELP WITH SWAPO WE CONTINUE TO REQUIRE, WE SUGGEST THAT THE FIVE, PREFERABLY REPRESENTED BY ONLY ONE OF THEM, FOLLOW UP BY GOING TO BOTH A FOR CONFIRMATION THAT THE SAG DOES NOT INTEND UNILATERAL ACTION CONTRARY TO THE PROVISIONS OR INTENT OF THE PROPOSAL. SUCH AN APPROACH MIGHT CONSIST OF EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR SAG ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL AND THEN EXPLAINING THE PROBLEMS WHICH MAY ARISE OUT OF THE SAG "ASSURANCES" ON TROOP WITHDRAWAL AND THE CONSEQUENT NEED FOR US TO BE IN A POSITION TO STATE CATEGORICALLY THAT SOUTH AFRICA AGREES:
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 CAPE T 00833 02 OF 02 261649Z

--NO PARTY SHOULD TAKE ANY ACTION INCONSISTENT WITH THE PROPOSAL.

--NO PARTY, AS STATED IN OUR APRIL 24 CLARIFICATIONS ON WHICH THE SAG ASSURANCE RESTS, SHOULD TAKE ANY ACTION WHICH WOULD IMPERIL THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE IN THE MANNER ENVISAGED IN THE PROPOSAL.

--THE AG, WORKING TOGETHER WITH THE UNSR, HAS THE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ORDERLY TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. (THIS POINT WAS INCLUDED IN VORSTER'S STATEMENT OF ACCEPTANCE.) WE WOULD TELL BOTHA OF OUR INTENTION TO USE SOUTH AFRICAN REAFFIRMATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES TO REASSURE SWAPO AND THE AFRICANS CONCERNED. WE WOULD DO SO PRIVATELY AND, IF NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE, PUBLICLY AS WELL.

7 A PARALLEL TACTIC, SHOULD IT BECOME NECESSARY, WOULD BE AT SOME POINT TO PUT FORWARD THE AGREED WESTERN POSITION ON WALVIS BAY AS A TRADE-OFF FOR SWAPO NOT MAKING THE SAG "ASSURANCE" ON THE TROOP WITHDRAWAL ISSUE AN OBSTACLE TO AGREEMENT.

8. SINCE NEITHER SWAPO NOR ANYONE ELSE HAS APPARENTLY YET PUBLICLY SEIZED UPON THE SAG ASSURANCE ON WITHDRAWAL AS INCONSISTENT WITH THE PROPOSAL AND TANTAMOUNT TO A MODIFICATION OF ITS PROVISIONS, WE MAY BE MORE CONCERNED THAN NECESSARY ABOUT THE PROSPECT OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFICULTY OVER THE ISSUE. WE NEVERTHELESS SUGGEST IT WOULD BE PRUDENT TO PREPARE FOR THE EVENTUALITY. THERE IS, MOREOVER, GOOD REASON TO BRIEF SWAPO AND THE KEY AFRICANS NOW ON OUR REACTION TO THE SAG ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL. IF THE SAG ASSURANCE ON TROOPS PROVES TO BE NO CAUSE FOR ALARM, WE NEED NOT RAISE THE ISSUE AND, WITHOUT PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO IT, SIMPLY STRESS THE SAG'S REAFFIRMATION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 CAPE T 00833 02 OF 02 261649Z

TO US OF ITS COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES INVOLVED.

9. EVEN WITHOUT SUCH REAFFIRMATION OF PRINCIPLE BY THE SAG, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE CG CONSIDER EARLY APPROACHES TO THE FRONT LINE AND NIGERIAN LEADERS AS WELL AS SWAPO TO REVIEW WITH THEM THE EXTENT OF SUPPORT WHICH WE HAVE RECEIVED SO FAR, THUS UNDERSCORING THAT IT IS UNREALISTIC TO SEEK BASIC CHANGES IN THE PROPOSAL. IN THESE APPROACHES WE SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT NOT ONLY HAS SOUTH AFRICA ACCEPTED THE PROPOSAL, BUT ALSO VARIOUS POLITICAL GROUPS IN NAMIBIA, INCLUDING THE NAMIBIAN NATIONAL FRONT AS WELL AS THE DEMOCRATIC TURNHALLE ALLIANCE. WE SHOULD, OF COURSE, STRESS THE

STRONG ENDORESEMENT BY THE CHURCH LEADERS OF NAMIBIA
WHOSE CONGREGATIONS COMPRISE MORE THAN HALF THE
POPULATION (LUTHERAN, CATHOLIC AND AGLICAN).
NELSON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENT DRAFT, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, MUTUAL FORCE WITHDRAWALS, WALVIS BAY, CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, UNSC RESOLUTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978CAPET00833
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780178-0789
Format: TEL
From: CAPE TOWN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780417/aaaaanif.tel
Line Count: 228
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: d051bca7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 CAPE TOWN 818
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2847391
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: ASSESSMENT OF SAG ACCEPTANCE OF WESTERN PROPOSAL
TAGS: PDEV, PORG, WA, SF, SWAPO, (BOTH, PIK)
To: STATE USUN NEW YORK
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/d051bca7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014